beyond the water to struggle with the Romans for a foothold in Africa. The kingdom of the Visigoths, with the exception of Gallicia, included all Spain and Narbonne Gaul. The feudal system now came to increase the horrors of this devoted land. The new kingdom was split into dukedoms and counties, to reward the captains who had been raised to rank by their superior ferocity, whilst the meaner soldiers assumed the estates of the Romans and Spaniards, degrading the proprietors into the condition of slaves. Such is the origin of nobility. What contrast can be more pitiable than is offered by the late flourishing, and now blighted and famished condition of unhappy Spain? The noble monuments, dedicated not less to usefulness than beauty, which rose on every hand to justify Roman usurpation, are now demolished to destroy the recollection of happier destinies. The statues of her benefactors, the busts of her own great men, are dashed from their pedestals; the halls and temples, which furnished living imitations of the fairest structures of Greece, give place to gloomy masses, towering upwards in defiance of grace and beauty, fit for the uses of a faith to which the converts had imparted their own ferocity. Devastated fields and smoking cities now furnish forth the landscape.

But violated humanity did not cry in vain for

vengeance. The day of retribution was at hand. A new power had risen in the East, the birthplace of so many religions; and, urged by the impulse of a novel and popular faith, had overrun a part of Asia and Africa, stripping the Romans, Vandals, and Goths of their possessions in Mauritania. Nor did the Saracens pause and rest satisfied at the extremity of Africa, where so narrow a space of water alone remained between them and that beautiful land of which they had received such flattering descriptions. There was much to call them over; the disputed succession between king Roderick and the sons of Witiza, his predecessor; the disaffection of a powerful faction in favor of the exiled princes, with Count Julian, son-in-law to Witiza, and the bishop Oppas at their head; the destruction of all the strong places in the kingdom, which the last king had ordered, to prevent the rebellion; the degeneracy of the Goths, whose sensual life had reduced them to a shameful state of effeminacy; the earnest invitation of the oppressed and plundered Jews, whose ancestors had come to Spain when Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, and in still greater numbers at the time of its total demolition by Titus, and who now monopolized all the wealth and learning of the land; but, above all, the abject condition of the nation at large, weary of slavery, and ready and willing to change a state which admitted of no deterioration.

These are the motives which, in 711, induced Musa, the lieutenant of the Caliph in Africa, to send Taric over to try his fortunes and inform himself of the possibility of a conquest.

His success stimulated to greater exertions. Taric crossed again with a more suitable force. The battle of Xerez was fought and won: the power and spirit of the Goths were broken: none remained to be overcome but the degraded Spaniards, who still preserved the language and manners of Romans with but little of the Roman valor. These, astonished at the moderation of the new conquerors, who, instead of destroying every thing, as the Goths had done, sought rather to preserve all things inviolate, and allowed the people to move away freely, or to remain in the possession of property, privileges, and religion, with the condition of paying a certain tax, which was not exorbitant,—turned gladly to this new and more auspicious domination. The Goths and some of the clergy took refuge in the mountains of the north; hence it is, that even at present, more than three quarters of the Spanish nobility are found in Leon, Biscay, Gallicia, and Asturias; that priests also there abound in greater numbers than elsewhere. The abandonment of the conquered country was, however, by no means general among the clergy. They remained undisturbed during centuries, until the inroads of the

barbarous and fanatic Moors towards the close of the Mahometan domination. Their bishops continued to exercise their apostolic functions, and even to hold councils. The mass of the people remained. Many continued to practise the faith and observe the customs of their ancestors; but more, won by the indifference of the conquerors, who made small endeavours for the conversion of their souls, readily embraced a religion which promised much bliss in the next world at the expense of little sacrifice in this. A new language was now introduced into Spain; and rivers, mountains, provinces, and even the whole Peninsula received new or modified names, more conformable to the genius or caprice of the conquerors. Thus the general appellation of Hispania, which descends from the remotest antiquity, was exchanged for that of Andaluz, from the province of Vandalusia, with which the Saracens first came in contact. Most of these names have maintained themselves with little variation to the present day.

The dominion of the Saracens thus established over the largest and fairest portion of the Peninsula continued to own allegiance for half a century to the caliph of Damascus, in whose name the conquest had been made. But the remoteness of the province from the metropolis, and the ambition of rival chiefs, gave rise to endless dissensions, until some

of the most enlightened and patriotic of the Spanish Arabians determined, as the only means of securing their conquest, to erect it into an independent empire. Fortunately there yet remained a single prince of the unhappy race of Omar, escaped from the cruel massacre of all his family, and now wandering a houseless exile among the savages of Africa. This exile was Abderahman. He was invited to pass over into Spain, and place himself at the head of the new empire of the West. Obeying the summons, he landed at once in Andalusia, attended by a trusty band of those brave Zenetes, who had lent him protection and hospitality. Abderahman, though young and brave and sensitive, was yet old in that experience which is best gained amid the trials of adversity. He was soon surrounded by the generous and enlightened, and by their aid succeeded in driving out the Lieutenant and those who still owned allegiance to the Caliph. The genius of the people and the rare qualities of a brilliant succession of kings, combined to carry the new empire to the height of development.

The Arabians had come from a hot and dry climate, and a land by nature arid, but which, by the aid of water, is easily quickened into fertility. They found in Spain a country analogous to their own. The lands were levelled and irrigation introduced. Where streams were convenient they were made use

of; where there were none, water was drawn from the bowels of the earth by means of the noria and spread over its surface. Thus the rich lands were rendered more fertile, and those which had hitherto been sun-burnt and naked were covered with vegetation. Many plants, hitherto unknown in Europe, were now acclimated in the low countries of the coast; cotton, sugar, the cane, mulberry, and olive were among the number. The population of the country rose at once to the measure of its means; and it is confidently asserted that, in the ninth century, Spain contained even more than the forty millions of inhabitants attributed to the prosperous period of the Roman domination. The fact appears to us substantiated that the little kingdom of Grenada, at a later period, contained three millions of inhabitants, though less than the twentieth of the Peninsula. The arts which promote the comfort and convenience of life, as well as those which serve to embellish it, were diligently cultivated; the manufactures of silk, linen, and leather were introduced, and paper was invented to meet the new wants of an improving people.

The social and intellectual condition of Spain kept pace with its improvement in moral and domestic economy. Chemistry, medicine, surgery, mathematics, astronomy, and all the sciences, whether curious or useful, were cultivated with a suc-

cess unknown in any other part of Europe. The ingenious Arabians, severed from their country and their ancient prejudices, and thrown into situations where all was novel and changing, were no longer satisfied to plod on in the beaten track; some endeavoured to improve upon what was already known; the more adventurous attempted new and hardy inventions. Men of genius associated themselves into academies, as in our day. Universities were established for the cultivation of science, and libraries for the dissemination of learning. The university of Cordova opened its halls to the curious of Christendom; a future Pope was among the number of its pupils; and the royal library, established by the beneficence of Alhakem, knew no equal in the West.

Music, too, was cultivated and taught as a science; but poetry was the favorite study of the Spanish Saracens. The fire which they had brought with them from the East burned brighter and blazed higher as Spain burst upon them in all her beauty. Their own glorious achievements too; the deeds of their Abderahmans and Almanzors; the gallant feats of that self-devoting chivalry which had sprung up among them, could only be worthily transmitted to us in the exaltation of song. Poetry was no rare accomplishment; even princes and ministers learned to touch the lyre; and thus, we are told, many of

those strains which were first sung upon the banks of the Genil and the Guadalquivir were repeated with admiration in the harems of Persia and Arabia. They are still transmitted to us by the Romance language, forming the theme and substance of many a roundelay.

But with the arts and sciences, with refinement and learning and luxury, came also a relaxation of that military spirit and that religious enthusiasm which had won them possession of the Peninsula. The broken remnant of the Goths had been allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of the mountains of the north, when a single well-directed effort would for ever have annihilated them, and whilst the war was carried on in France even to the banks of the Loire. Meantime the constitutions and characters of the Goths underwent a reform; they were hardened by the precarious life of the mountains, and schooled and tempered by their disastrous reverses. Thus fortified they descended into the plains to contend with the Saracens. When they were unfortunate, their fastnesses received them; when victorious, they overran the country, driving off the cattle and inhabitants, destroying the crops, orchards, and habitations, and giving all over to fire and the sword. Thus they gradually gained ground, extending their possessions at the expense of their adversaries. That fanaticism which among the Sara-

cens had been quenched by the dawn of science was with them at its height. They were fighting, not only for themselves, but also for Christ and for the Virgin. Each of their victories was also a victory of the faith. Priests and bishops mingled in the thickest of the fight, waving their blood-stained swords, or lifting the bones of a patron saint as a pledge of victory. To the warrior was promised, in case he should fall in battle, a free passport into heaven. Even supernatural interposition was not wanting; the bones of Saint James the Apostle had been opportunely found at Compostella, where they were said to have been buried by his disciples, who had brought them thither in a small boat from the extremity of the Mediterranean. And now the priests saw their beloved Santiago descending in every doubtful struggle from the clouds, overthrowing whole ranks of the infidels with his sword, or trampling them under the hoofs of his snow-white charger.

But a succour of greater value if possible than that of Santiago was furnished by the Saracens themselves. Whilst consolidation from intermarriage was taking place among the Christian kingdoms, those principles of dissolution inherent in all Mahometan despotisms from the uncertain order of succession, and which had showed themselves in the East immediately after the death of the Prophet,

began to operate in Spain. The brilliant empire of Cordova, a prey to disputed succession, was shaken to atoms; and every ambitious *wali*, shutting himself up in the strong-hold of his command, became a petty king, and laid claim to a contemptible independence. These, in virtue of their kingly condition, quarrelled with each other for the demarcation of their territory, and made war. Such as had the Christians for neighbours called in their aid, overcame their adversaries, divided the spoil, and became themselves in turn the prey of their aggrandized ally; for, though in all these wars the Saracens were scrupulously observant of their given faith, it was a tenet and practice of the Christians to keep no terms with infidels but those of expediency. They had the best of ghostly counsel to prove that any thing was justifiable that would end in the glory of God.

Though the arrival of numerous hordes of savage and warlike Moors brought a new set of oppressors to the Saracens, and checked for the time the ascendency of the Christians; yet these, little by little, at length won back, within the lapse of eight centuries, the whole of that fair empire which they had lost in a few months, rather by a rout than a conquest. Every spot became the site of a regular battle, or of some rencontre of contending chivalry. Thus Spain, already rich in classic association, was

further consecrated by thousands of heroic feats and hapless disasters. These were commemorated in ballads by the Saracens; and this species of composition, being imitated by the Christians, became popular throughout Europe under the name of romance, from the Romance language, through which it first became known.

The alteration, however, in the moral and economical condition of the Peninsula, produced by this change of masters, calls for sorrow and lamentation. Intolerance succeeds to toleration; idleness to industry; solitude and silence to the stir and turmoil of happy multitudes; ignorance, listlessness, and superstition to the dawning light of awakened science. We see on every side busy cities made suddenly desolate; plantations laid waste and burnt; rugged rocks and hill sides, which had been won to fertility by the use of irrigation, now relapsing into their original sterility. Vast tracts of desert lands are awarded to those captains who had been foremost to pillage and destroy, or to the churches and convents which had aided at a distance with their prayers. Henceforth, the country, peopled under such ill-fated auspices, presents the distressing spectacle of wealth and luxury entailed without exertion upon the few, at the expense of toil and suffering and self-denial to the many. Such indeed was the melancholy use made by the conquerors of their conquest; such the

deplorable results of the extermination of the Saracens, that we are absolutely forced to sigh over the triumphs of Christianity.

And here we are led to pause and reflect on the changes which time and circumstances bring upon the noblest institutions. Fifteen centuries previous to the period of which we speak, Jesus Christ appeared in the East, preaching peace upon earth and good-will towards men. His system is propagated by sufferings, by sorrows, by martyrdom; and thus it wins its way over the whole of Europe. Six hundred years after, a new prophet arises in the same land, proclaiming fraternity to the faithful, death to all who disbelieve. These two faiths, the one inculcating the endurance of every evil, the other the domination of the sword, extend themselves westward over Europe and Africa, until we at length see them meet and mingle at the extremities of their respective continents. But now how modified and how perverted! Behold the Christian become warlike! Steel is the only fit covering for the followers of the lamb! Nay, the very successors of the apostles now lead the van of devastation and carnage! But how is it with the Mahometan? The spear, with which he proved the perfection of his creed, is turned into a pruning-hook; his only present desire is to enjoy in peace the land long since conquered by his ancestors, and cultivated by twenty generations of his race. The boon is denied.

The Christian has become the religious assailant. The sword of faith is wielded against the moslem. The game of war is turned upon him, and waged to the uttermost. He is stripped of province after province, and city after city. His sons are forced into slavery, his daughters given to dishonor, and himself finally driven from the land, repeating, peradventure, the soliloquy of the old Moor—"Ah! what a hard fate is mine, brought upon me by my own wickedness, or by an insatiate destiny; I wander a banished man my whole life; forced to seek a new country at each step, and to make a spectacle of my misfortunes in every city!"

Yet the close of the fifteenth century, the period posterior to the final extinction of the Saracenic domination, and the reign of Charles I., fifth emperor of that name, is esteemed the most brilliant period of the Spanish monarchy. Notwithstanding the perpetual warfare, which had prevailed for centuries, the country had continued rich and prosperous, counting twenty millions of inhabitants—nearly double the population at the present day. The spirit of industry and the knowledge of the arts, acquired by intercourse with the Saracens, and fostered by the commercial enterprise and accumulated capital of the Jews, had made great progress among the Christians. The exposed state of the country, too, from constant warfare, had forced the inhabitants to congregate in cities for mutual pro-

tection. This, whilst it diverted their attention from agriculture to manufactures, had also the effect of promoting intelligence by free intercourse and interchange of sentiment, of giving the people a knowledge of their rights, and of furnishing facilities for combining for their defence. Property thus found protection in the association of the industrious classes, and in their admission to a share in the concerns of state. The discovery of another world at this auspicious moment carried the power and glory of Spain to still greater elevation. Emigration to the colonies drained the country of the worthless and idle, creating markets abroad, where goods were exchanged for the precious metals, and these returned to foster industry, facilitate circulation, and enrich Spain by new exchanges for the productions of other countries. At this period we behold Spain rich, happy, and powerful, maintaining her proper station among the nations of the earth.

But the sad reverses were again at hand. Those liberties which distinguished and formed the just pride of the Spaniard of the fifteenth century, were gradually undermined by the crafty Ferdinand and by Charles V., until they were at length utterly destroyed by the bigoted and bloody Philip II. The people had no longer any voice in the national councils; they were no longer solicited to bestow, but,

like poor travellers beset upon the highway, were commanded to deliver, with death for an alternative. The motive to acquire wealth was diminished in proportion as the hope of preserving it grew smaller. This check upon improvement was still further increased by the terrors of the Inquisition. To grow rich was to be exposed to an accusation of Judaism, or of some other offence, which might bring the wealth of the individual within the clutches of the tribunal. Thus beset, the industrious either ceased to be so, or fled to the colonies; the rich withdrew their capital from productive employment, converting it into some form in which it might be hidden from view and enjoyed without molestation. Hence, perhaps, that avidity for the precious metals with which the Spaniards are reproached; and which, though it may have been stimulated by the greedy pursuit of them in the new world, is doubtless more owing to the facilities which they afford for the concealment of wealth.

To check the prosperity of the Spanish empire, a most efficacious expedient had been fallen upon by Ferdinand and Isabella, or rather by their priestly advisers, in the expulsion of the Jews. The Moors, notwithstanding the solemn capitulations on the surrender of Granada, were forcibly compelled to embrace christianity, and punished with the stake and faggot for any relapse: until after more than a

century of cruel persecution, the remnants of that unhappy people were driven from their native homes to starve in Africa, being first stripped of the little wealth necessary to purchase them an asylum. Thus were enterprise and industry proscribed and driven from this devoted land, at a season, too, when every thing combined to check domestic development. Meantime, the wealth which had been wrested from these hapless outcasts was lavished with wanton profusion upon courtiers, favorites, and harlots. A system of corruption had indeed taken root in Spain, beginning near the throne, and extending down to the meanest alcalde or alguazil. Unchecked by publicity, unrestrained by popular responsibility, the whole machine of state was moved by money. Honor and office became the portion of the highest bidder; bribery sanctioned peculation; until the word *justicia*, instead of commanding reverence and inspiring security, became the dread of the innocent, the scoff of the guilty, and associated with all that is infamous. He who has read Gil Blas—and who has not read it?—may form a proper notion of Spanish justice, such as it was in the seventeenth century, such as it is at the present day *.

* We read in a late French paper a letter from Madrid, from which the following is an extract: "The king has ordered the discovery and punishment of those who deal in public employments, selling them to the highest bidder. It is thought that the high rank of the implicated will save them."

The accession of the Bourbon family brought indeed a prospect of melioration, quickly overcast by the assimilation of the masters to their slaves. Yet did Charles III. in modern times make a noble effort to arrest the national decline. But his son and successor was a different man. Charles IV., the most ignobly base, the most worthless and vile of Spanish kings, abandoned the monarchy to its downward fate, and to the guidance of the harlot his wife and the greedy wretch her paramour. The feeble tie which bound the colonies is severed. From being friends, they are arrayed as enemies; and the mother country is abandoned to the designs of an ambitious neighbour, to civil war, and the quick succession of several separate revolutions. Unhappy Spain! we behold her now at the bottom of the abyss, her only consolation that she can fall no farther.

The population of Spain, though some have reduced it to eight millions, is supposed to be much greater. It has been proved that, from the manner in which imposts are raised and levies of troops made in various parts of the country, the different towns have each been interested in making their population as low as possible, in order to furnish a quota proportionally small. Hence resulted a very defective enumeration. A different means of obtaining the census has lately been adopted, and the

population of Spain proves to have been rather more than ten millions at the beginning of this century. The destruction of life and property consequent upon so many revolutions in the last twenty years may have still further reduced the number. The ruined and untenanted habitations which I have every where met with in Spain would indicate as much. If Portugal be considered in conjunction with Spain—and nature has drawn no line of separation—the entire population of the Peninsula may be estimated at near fourteen millions; about seventy souls to the square mile. This is much less than half the number found upon an equal space in France and England; countries far inferior in fertility of soil, amenity of climate, and all the bounties of nature*.

Thus we see Spain awaking to civilization under

* It may, perhaps, aid in explaining the decline of population in Spain to annex the following division of the inhabitants, as given by Laborde. The census was taken in 1788. There were then in Spain 10,409,879 individuals of both sexes; 5,204,187 males, and 5,205,692 females. Of the men, 3,257,022 were widowers, bachelors, and ecclesiastics; and of the women, 3,262,197 were nuns, widows, and waiters upon Providence. Again, of the whole population, 60,240 were secular clergy; 49,270 were monks; and 22,237 nuns. The hermits, *beatas*, sextons, and singers, made an item of about 20,000 more; forming a total of more than 150,000 connected with religion; near one and a half *per cent.* upon the entire population. In Catalonia, where the clergy are most numerous, they amounted to near two *per cent.* Then there were in Spain 478,716 nobles; 231,187 of whom were found in Biscay and Asturias,

the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, and reaching the pinnacle of prosperity under the Romans, when she is supposed to have sustained no fewer than forty millions of people. The dark days of the Gothic domination intervene, until we see her again under the sway of a lively, industrious, and intelligent people, attaining equal prosperity with that which she had enjoyed in the best days of the empire. After eight centuries of war and carnage, we find her still rich and industrious, with twenty millions

which together contained a population of only 655,933. To wait upon such of these nobles as do not wait upon themselves and upon others, 276,090 men servants were required. One hundred thousand beggars were fed at the convents of the aforesaid monks and nuns; and there were 60,000 students, half of whom also begged charity. Then there were upwards of 100,000 individuals connected with the administration of government and justice, or with the military for the maintenance of despotism. Add to these 100,000 existing as smugglers, robbers, and assassins; and 30,000 custom and other officers to take these, and often having an understanding with them. Having made these and other unprofitable deductions, there remained 964,571 day-laborers; 917,197 peasants; 310,739 artisans and manufacturers, and 34,339 merchants, to sustain by their productive occupations ten millions of inhabitants, many of whom riot in wealth and luxury. As the sum total of the present population, as given in the last edition of Antillon, corresponds with this, we may assume these items as correct at the present day. The accounts are, however, so contradictory in different works that it is not easy to form a decided opinion. In the Diccionario Geografico of Dr. Minano, the population of Spain is estimated to have been 13,732,172 in 1826. Of these 13,490,031 are given as lay inhabitants; 127,345 clergy; 100,732 soldiers; 14,064 sailors.

of inhabitants. Since then, though generally in the enjoyment of peace, and in the presence of the progressive prosperity of all Europe, she is seen to waste away and decline, though still possessing all the elements of prosperity, until at length, in the nineteenth century, the era of boundless improvements in morals and in arts, she is seen to number with difficulty ten millions of individuals.

Travellers and economists have been much perplexed in accounting for this singular declension. Townsend, who is much quoted, ascribes it to the expulsion of the Jews and Moors; to the intestine wars, which raged during seven centuries between Moors and Christians; to the contagious fevers, which have at various times desolated the southern provinces; to the emigrations to America; and to the celibacy of so many monks and nuns. The expulsion of three millions of Jews and Moors was undoubtedly a severe blow to industry and population. As much may be said of the Inquisition, with its half million of victims; but as for the wars with the Saracens, they left Spain rich, industrious, and with twenty millions of people. It is only during three centuries of almost uninterrupted peace that her population declines to the half of this number. The contagious fevers to which he alludes are, perhaps, a consequence, instead of a cause, of decay. Emigration is found rather to enrich than to impoverish a country, by the return of those who go away

poor and come back wealthy, and by creating outlets abroad for profitable exchanges of domestic produce. As for the supposed celibacy of the monks and nuns, it is a matter of little moment; if they would but work, there would be plenty ready to supply the demand for population.

Indeed, to account for the economical contrast furnished by Spain, in the beginning of the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, by the decline of population, is but a troublesome task, unless we may find a solution of the difficulty in the corresponding political one produced by the decline of liberty. The country, then not less than now, was split into separate states, governed by distinct laws; taxes were not less unequally imposed; property was not less unjustly divided; the roads and communications were much more defective. The checks to intelligence and civilization were equally great; the Inquisition had already prepared its tortures and lit its *quemadero*. But the Spaniard of that day had a voice in the councils of the nation; something to say when it was a question of taking away his property. If wronged, he could demand redress of his equals in Cortes, not as an act of grace, but as the right of a freeman. A single fact may, I think, serve to make that plain which is otherwise a mystery. The Aragonese of the fifteenth century, in swearing allegiance to their king, made this noble proviso:—"We, who are each of us as good, and

who together can do more than you, promise obedience to your government, if you maintain our rights; but if not—not!"—"*Y si no—no!*" These are words becoming the Spaniard and his noble tongue; but now, alas! none dare name his *fueros*, none to lisp the pleasant word of *libertad!*

That liberty made Spain, and that despotism has marred her, let no one doubt. There is indeed a moral force in freedom which knows no equal. Look at Holland—a sand-bank recovered from the sea, a nation in spite of nature, sending out navies to sweep the ocean of her enemies; at Britain—a mere cluster of sea-washed rocks, giving impulse and direction to all Europe; at America—the republic of half a century, already taking her station among the most prominent powers of the earth. If there is a force in freedom, there is also a withering power in the touch of despotism. Turn from these happy lands to Spain—the very fairest country of Europe—the birth-place of a Cid and a Guzman—the nation that sent Columbus forth to search for new worlds, and Cortes and Pizarro to conquer them: behold her dwindled and impoverished, stripped of her possessions, reduced to the mere productions of her own soil, and no longer fit, even at home, to maintain her sovereignty; by turns a prey to the rival cupidity of Gauls and Britons, and openly despoiled by her own children.

The state of agriculture in Spain is very little in unison with the fertility of her soil and the mildness of her climate. A thousand causes contribute to this calamity. But the universality of *mayorazgos*, or entails, and the unequal division of property into immense estates, producing in several instances, in spite of maladministration, a half million of dollars revenue to a single individual; and the enormous wealth of the clergy, unpurchased by exertion, yet profusely squandered in church decorations, in luxurious indulgence, in secret debauchery; in conjunction with the consequent poverty of the peasants, who toil that others may enjoy, are sufficient reasons for this unhappy result. Were they not, we might find yet others in the hateful privileges of the *Mesta*, an association of nobles and rich convents, owning the five millions of wandering merinos, which migrate semi-annually from valley to mountain, and mountain to valley, devouring every thing as they go, and claiming the privilege, from the mere antiquity of the abuse, to pasture their flocks freely, or at their own prices, on the lands of the cultivator; in that dread of living isolated in an insecure country, which crowds the population together in villages, removing the cultivator from the scene of his labors; in those defective communications which check production for the want of outlets, and give one province over to famine whilst another is suffer-

ing from a surfeit; and in the diminution of home consumers by the decline of industry. Thus each step in the descending gradations of decay leads on to new declensions.

Low as agriculture has fallen, manufactures, being of less instant necessity, are still lower. With the exception of a few expensive establishments, which form appendages to the crown, and serve to check private industry, there are few fine commodities wrought in the Peninsula. Watches, jewelry, lace, and almost every thing requiring taste and ingenuity in the production, are brought from abroad. In general, each little place, deprived of all facilities for carrying on that internal trade and commerce of exchanges so invaluable to a country, produces, advantageously or disadvantageously, as the case may be, the few narrow necessaries which are indispensable to life. If we exclude, then, the establishments which are forced into sickly prosperity by royal protection, a few coarse fabrics of wool, cotton, silk, hemp, flax, paper, leather, and iron, compose the productions of Spanish industry. Spain is now the exporter of scarcely a single manufactured article. Thus we see the country, which in the fifteenth century furnished the rest of Europe with fine cloths, silks, and other luxurious commodities, now reduced in turn to a like condition of dependence.

As for the foreign commerce, which once spread itself over two oceans and into every sea, it is at present restricted to an occasional arrival from Cuba, Porto Rico, or the Philippines, at an uninsurable risk, and an exchange of raw commodities, such as silk, wool, wine, oil, figs, raisins, almonds, salt, and barilla, for the manufactured articles of foreign countries. Even that internal trade and free exchange of domestic productions, which constitute the most valuable branch of commerce, are no longer enjoyed without molestation. The poverty of communications, from the defective state of roads and utter absence of canals, with a single contemptible exception; the want of uniformity in weights, measures, and commercial regulations; the insecurity and fluctuating policy proper to despotism; the destructive imports levied at every step; the authorised and systematic vexations of mercenary custom-house creatures and police-men—all tend to check, and even arrest, circulation within; whilst the South American corsairs, pushed on by cupidity, interrupt the coasting trade at every headland, and force it to seek refuge under a foreign flag.

If agriculture, commerce, and the arts be in a fallen state, the condition of science and literature is scarcely better. The fine arts, however, forming, as they do, an appendage of a magnificent court, are still as well off in Spain as in the other coun-

tries of Europe. Sculptors and painters, not content with studying the noble models contained in the royal museums, are still sent to Italy at the public expense, even in the face of a national bankruptcy. During my residence in Madrid, statues arrived from Rome of Charles IV. and his queen Maria Louisa, beautifully executed by Spanish artists. If the chisel of the statuary was not flattered, Charles IV. was not less noble in person than ignoble in character. His statue might almost be taken for that of Washington. Whoever, therefore, may chance to see this marble image, will have something to qualify his detestation of the original. To be thus cheated into admiration were almost enough to make one quarrel with statuary. As for literature, it may not merely be said to be dying in Spain, but actually dead. The illustrious race of writers in poetry, in romance, in the drama, which arose there, before freedom of thought, and speech, and publicity, were lost with her other liberties, and ere the decline of industry and wealth had produced universal stagnation, is now extinct. A single living poet alone remains, or at least is known to fame. Yriarte, whose fables are equal to those of Æsop or La Fontaine, will long be read with equal profit and pleasure. Her Lope de Vega, her Calderon, Gongora, Garcilaso, Quevedo, her Alemano, are only known to Spain traditionally, or to

the curious few through a scarce collection of antique tomes. Hardly any of these authors are reprinted at the present day; and were it not for fear of a tumult among the Spaniards, nothing would prevent the censor from proscribing their beloved champion Don Quixote. Indeed, the art of printing might be lost Spain, but for the publication of a semi-weekly gaceta, and a half dozen of diarios *.

* I do not feel qualified to speak of a literature with which I am little acquainted; the more so that I am not *critically* acquainted even with my own; nor would I willingly indulge in those patriotic partialities, which it is equally honorable to feel and unbecoming to express. Yet can I say, that with the exception of the Quixote, which is a book by itself, and from which I have derived more amusement than from any other, I have looked in vain among the Spanish authors which have been recommended to me, as I had before done among the French, for any counterparts of Shakspeare, Byron, Milton, Young, Thomson, Cowper, Campbell, Moore, Scott, Sterne, Irving, and the thousand worthies who have so illustrated our own language.

I would fain believe that this is not mere partiality for a native tongue. A German friend, not less frank than intelligent, who is familiar with all the prevailing languages of Europe, and by no means superficially read in their literature, thus writes to me from Amsterdam.—"You make me a compliment on my English writing; I thank you for the compliment, and forgive the jest, provided you forgive my presumption. I am not used to write in this language. It is true I read it much, and with delight. If I were not afraid lest I should forget the Spanish and Italian—the French is an every-day tongue with us here, and is out of the question—I would read nothing else. Let Calderon be what he may, to me he is not a shade of Byron. I have but begun Mariana; but I

Science is in an equally unhappy condition, though the seventeen splendidly endowed universities of Spain might well serve to stock the world with sages. That of Salamanca still boasts its sixty professors; its twenty-five colleges; its voluminous library; but its fame has fled, and of its fifteen thousand students which once flocked to gather wisdom in its halls, from England, France, and every country of Europe, a thousand poor Spaniards and Irishmen now alone remain to be bewildered and mystified. Laborde tells us that medicine is taught in the different universities of Spain, by professors who confine themselves to verbal explanations, except at Salamanca and Valencia, where alone are medical libraries and anatomical preparations. All who apply are freely admitted as students of medicine, without any previous examination. They continue to follow the courses for four years, taking down the lectures, from the dictation of the professors. Yet these manuscripts, crude as they are, form the main resource of the student in those universities, which have no medical library. The

do not think he will afford me the pleasure which Gibbon did, and which Hume now does. I like the few Italians I have read much better. But they neither suit my taste nor feelings like Byron. I think I never read an author who so spoke to my heart and soul as Byron. I could have wept when I found that Don Juan was not ended."

purchase of books, in Spain either dear or altogether deficient, is out of the question. The students are never examined during the course, nor even at its termination; nor is any notice taken of irregular attendance. Indeed, Laborde tells us that many of them are so miserably poor, as to be obliged to spend much of their time in dancing attendance about the doors of the convents and hospitals, to share in the gratuitous distribution of soup and puchero. After the expiration of this novitiate, two years more are spent in acquiring the practice of the profession. For this purpose they enter the service of a physician, accompanying him in his daily rounds to visit his patients; and thus learn the art of feeling a pulse, looking very wise, examining the tongue, &c. Reader, do you not see Gil Blas clinging to the skirts of Sangrado? His education is now finished, and, after a characteristic examination, the degree is given, and the doctor is complete. But he is not admitted until he receives a licence from the Protomedicate, or medical tribunal, after the fashion of the Mesta. He now undergoes a second examination on the theory of medicine, and is required during three days to physic an unhappy patient in one of the public hospitals; which, whether right or wrong, he takes care to do according to the method of the examiner. Lastly,

and here is the only stumbling-block, he is forced to pay nearly fifty dollars, ere he be turned loose upon the community.

From the nature of their education, the excessive number of the medicos, and their miserable emoluments, as well as from the qualities required for success, which are rather impudence and self-sufficiency than intelligence and skill, the medical profession in Spain is on the worst possible footing. With, doubtless, many honorable exceptions in the larger cities, the theory of Sangrado still prevails among the whole race of physicians, surgeons, and their first cousins the barbers. Indeed, how can it be otherwise, when professional advancement does not depend upon the public confidence, purchased by years of patient assiduity, but on the intrigue of a moment, and the well-timed administration of a bribe? That this is the case generally throughout Spain, I feel entitled to assert. The surgeons and physicians are not selected at pleasure by every family, but appointed by the *ayuntamiento*, municipality of each town, now chosen from the inhabitants by the king, according to the standard of loyalty. The individual thus selected to take charge of the public health receives a fixed salary from the ayuntamiento, taken from the duties raised on the consumption of the town, and usually from the tax upon brandy. In return for this compensation, he is bound to attend